Message Text

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SUBJ: MEETING WITH UGO LA MALFA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

1. SUMMARY: IN WIDE-RANGING REVIEW OF PRESENT ITALIAN SCENE UGO LA MALFA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF ITALY, TOLD ME HE IS CONVINCED THAT RED BRIGADES ARE SUPPORTED BY USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA WITH THE GOAL OF DESTROYING DC/PCI COOPERATION IN PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY AND PUSHING ITALY TOWARD CIVIL WAR. IN HIS VIEW, THE PRESENT GOVERNENT FORMULA CAN AND MUST BE MADE TO ENDURE FOR TWO TO THREE YEARS TO ENABLE THE COUNTRY TO EMERGE FROM CRISIS, AFTER WHICH THE "DEMOCRATIC DIALECTIC CAN BE RENEWED:. END SUMMARY.

2. I MET WITH UGO LA MALFA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AT HIS REQUEST ON APRIL 25. FOLLOWING ARE MAIN POINTS MADE BY LA MALFA IN WIDE-RANGING REVIEW OF ITALIAN SCENE:

A. IN LA MALFA'S VIEW, THE PURPOSE OF THE RED BRIGADES (BR) IS TO DRIVE THE PCI INTO OPPOSITION AND PUSH ITALY TOWARD CIVIL WAR. IT IS NO ACCIDENT, HE EMPHASIZED, THAT THE BR KIDNAPPED MORO, THE PRINCIPAL ARCHITECT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ACCORD, OR THAT THEY ATTACKED CONFIDENTIAL

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BERLINGUER AND HIS GROUP IN THEIR COMMUNIQUE.

B. LA MALFA IS CONVINCED THAT THE USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA ARE BEHIND THE BR. THE USSR WANTS TO DESTROY BERLINGUER BECAUSE IT CAN'T CONTROL HIM -- THEY SEE A MENANCE TO THEIR WHOLE SYSTEM IF THE PCI IS INSERTED INTO A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. HE HAS HEARD

REPORTS THAT 300 OF THE BR WERE TRAINED YEARS AGO IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. ADMITTEDLY HE HAS SEEN NO PROOF OF THIS, BUT "IT'S POSSIBLE THAT AN INTERNAL ITALIAN MOVEMENT COULD BE SO ORGANIZED".

C. HE DOUBTS THE BR WILL KILL MORO -- THEY WILL
KEEP HIM AS LONG AS POSSIBLE AND "SQUEEZE HIM" UNTIL
HE SERVES NO FURTHER PURPOSE. AFTER RELEASING MORO,
LA MALFA IS CONVINCED, THEY WILL THEN TRY TO KILL
ANOTHER MAJOR POLITICAL FIGURE. THIS WILL PUSH THE
COUNTRY INTO A "STATE OF SIEGE". THE BR THINK THIS
WILL FORCE THE GOVERNMENT TO REPRESSIVE MEASURES WHICH
THE PCI WILL BE UNABLE TO ACCEPT, WITH THE RESULT THAT
THE PCI WILL GO INTO OPPOSITION. THIS PLAN WILL FAIL,
HE BELIEVES, BECAUSE THE PCI AND DC WILL UNITE IN
PROPOSING NEW LAWS TO DEAL WITH THE EMERGENCY, VERY
PROBABLY INCLUDING THE REINTRODUCTION OF THE DEATH
PENALTY AND MUCH MORE POWER TO THE POLICE. "THE COMMUNISTS
ARE BEGINNING TO SPEAK MY LANGUAGE ON PUBLIC ORDER."

D. THE PCI, LA MALFA SAYS, CALLS HIM REGULARLY TO ASK THAT THE OTHER PARTIES STAND FIRM IN RESISTING NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BR. HE IS CONVINCED THAT THE PCI WANTS A STRONG DC TO WORK WITH IN ORDER NOT TO BE PULLED TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. HE IS CONVINCED THE PCI IS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH: "UP UNTIL NOW I CONFIDENTIAL

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HAVEN'T SEEN ANY SIGN OF A NEED TO FEAR THE PCI."

E. IF MORO EMERGES ALIVE, LA MALFA IS CONVINCED HE IS FINISHED POLITICALLY. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE DC HAVE A STRONG LEADER AND THE MAN BEST SUITED TO THIS TASK IS PROBABLY FANFANI, PROVIDED THAT HE WILL NOT BE TOO "ANTI-COMMUNIST" AND WILL BE WILLING TO WORK WITH THE PCI. A SECOND POSSIBILITY FOR THE LEADERSHIP ROLE WOULD BE FORLANI.

F. THE PRESENT GOVERNING FORMULA MUST BE MADE TO LAST FOR AT LEAST TWO TO THREE YEARS, BECAUSE THE COUNTRY CAN'T STAND ELECTIONS IN ITS PRESENT CRISIS. HE IS CONVINCED THE PCI WILL GO ALONG WITH THIS AND NOT PRESS FOR AN EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT WITH PCI MINISTERS. AFTER THE TWO-TO-THREE-YEAR PERIOD, THE "DEMOCRATIC DIALECTIC CAN BE RENEWED". "IF WE BREAK THE PRESENT FORMULA, WE WILL HAVE CIVIL WAR."

3. COMMENT: MY INTERVIEW WITH LA MALFA RECONFIRMED MY IMPRESSION THAT HE IS OVERLY TRUSTING OF PCI AND DETERMINED TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS TO INVOLVE THEM

	Sheryl P. Walter	Declassified/Released	US Department of State	EO Systematic Review	20 Mar 2014
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